

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE POSS DUPE

PAGE 01 BONN 02952 01 OF 03 210337Z

66

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-05 /064 W

----- 059036

R 201756Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6632

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 02952

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, GW

SUBJECT: KOHL-SONNENFELDT PUBLIC DISCUSSION AT ADENAUER
FOUNDATION BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

BEGIN SUMMARY: AT FEBRUARY 20 EXCHANGE ON THE FUTURE OF
THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, CDU CHANCELLOR CANDIDATE KOHL AND
COUNSELOR SONNENFELDT BOTH ENDORSED THE IMPORTANCE OF
THE TRANS-ATLANTIC DIALOGUE AND THE NECESSITY TO WORK

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 BONN 02952 01 OF 03 210337Z

TOWARDS DIFFUSION OF THE SOVIET THREAT.

IN A PUBLIC DISCUSSION FOLLOWING THEIR TWO SPEECHES, SONNENFELDT STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING THE PRESENT DEGREE OF EUROPEAN SECURITY AS A PRECONDITION FOR DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS, THE QUALITATIVE DIFFERENCE IN THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AS CONTRASTED WITH THE "UNIQUE" SUPERPOWER RELATIONSHIP, AND THE ROLE OF DETENTE IN OPENING THE SOVIET UNION MORE TO ACCOMMODATIONS WITH THE OUTSIDE FREE WORLD AS WELL AS IN RESTRAINING SOVIET ACTIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. THE KONRAD ADENAUER FOUNDATION (A CDU ORGANIZATION) HAS SPONSORED IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE AMERICAN EMBASSY A THREE-DAY DISCUSSION OF THE US-FRG RELATIONSHIP. THE DISCUSSION WAS CAPPED FEBRUARY 20 BY PRESENTATIONS ON THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE BY CHANCELLOR CANDIDATE KOHL AND BY STATE DEPARTMENT COUNSELOR SONNENFELDT.

2. KOHL, IN HIS REMARKS, NOTED THAT THE ALLIANCE CONTINUES TO BE CHALLENGED TODAY BY AN IDEOLOGICAL ADVERSARY. THE SOVIET UNION, IN THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS OF DETENTE, HAS ALSO CONTINUED TO INCREASE ITS ARMAMENTS STRENGTH. WE MUST, KOHL STRESSED, BE WILLING TO COUNTER THESE PRESSURES, WHETHER IDEOLOGICAL OR MILITARY.

3. WE SHOULD, KOHL URGED:

-- DEVELOP SIMILAR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS WITH ONE ANOTHER, RATHER THAN BATTLE AS COMMERCIAL RIVALS;

-- BE MORE WILLING TO STRESS OUR COMMON BASIC PRINCIPLES;

-- REVIEW OUR COMMON SOCIAL BELIEFS AND GOALS;

-- UNDERSTAND THE POLITICAL BASIS OF OUR ALLIANCE. (IN THIS CONNECTION, KOHL SAID, PARTICIPATION BY COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS IN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 BONN 02952 01 OF 03 210337Z

NATO IS "UNTHINKABLE");

-- STRESS OUR COMMON MORAL BELIEFS AND OUR WILLINGNESS TO SACRIFICE FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF OUR FREEDOMS.

-- ALL NATIONS, NOT JUST THE UNITED STATES, MUST WORK TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE COMMON DEFENSE.

4. COUNSELOR SONNENFELDT PRESENTED A COMPLIMENTARY

ADDRESS FROM PREPARED REMARKS (A COPY OF WHICH IS ALREADY
AVAILABLE TO THE DEPARTMENT). IN HIS REMARKS SONNENFELDT
MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS IN REFERENCE TO THE PRESENT
CONTROVERSY IN THE FRG CONCERNING DETENTE AND THE
RECENT POLISH-FRG AGREEMENTS:

BEGIN TEXT: "THE FUTURE OF GERMANY REMAINS AS FUNDA-

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE POSS DUPE

PAGE 01 BONN 02952 02 OF 03 210338Z

66

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-05 /064 W

----- 059047

R 201756Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6633

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 03 BONN 02952

MENTAL TO THE EAST-WEST EQUATION IN THE PRESENT ERA AS IT WAS AT THE HEIGHT OF THE COLD WAR. TOGETHER WITH OUR NATO ALLIES WE HAVE WORKED TO OVERCOME THE DIVISIONS OF GERMANY AND EUROPE, A GOAL ALSO DEEPLY DESIRED BY THE PEOPLES OF EASTERN EUROPE. IT IS PROFOUNDLY A HUMANITARIAN GOAL AS WELL AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE OVER-ALL ENDEAVOR TO BUILD RESTRAINT INTO EAST-WEST

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 BONN 02952 02 OF 03 210338Z

RELATIONS. IN THIS CONTEXT, WE HAVE LONG SUPPORTED THE EFFORTS OF SUCCESSIVE GERMAN GOVERNMENTS TO ACHIEVE NORMALIZATION AND RECONCILIATION THROUGH A SERIES OF AGREEMENTS WITH THEIR NEIGHBORS TO THE EAST. CARRYING THE HEAVY BURDENS OF HISTORY THEY DO, THIS HAS OFTEN BEEN A PAINFUL PROCESS FOR ALL CONCERNED. YET IT IS ONE OF THE IMPERATIVES OF OUR ERA AND WE WELCOME THE PROGRESS THAT HAS BEEN MADE BY OUR GERMAN ALLIES SINCE THE FIRST STEPS IN 1955 IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE SOVIET UNION.

THE POLICIES WE ARE PURSUING DO NOT OFFER A FINITE SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF THE GROWTH OF SOVIET POWER, BUT A MEANS OF DEALING WITH IT SO THAT OUR SECURITY WILL BE PRESERVED AND PEACE MAINTAINED. THE CONSTRUCTION OF A MORE DURABLE, MORE STABLE INTERNATIONAL ORDER IS A PROCESS, BOTH DYNAMIC AND INCREMENTAL, WHICH WILL, IF IT IS PROPERLY UNDERSTOOD, ACT TO UNITE RATHER THAN DIVIDE THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY. END TEXT.

5. IN THE SUBSEQUENT PUBLIC EXCHANGE, SONNENFELDT MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS:

-- HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT EAST-WEST DISARMAMENT DISCUSSIONS WOULD BE SUCCESSFUL, NOTING THAT THE ISSUES ARE TECHNICALLY COMPLEX. HE OBSERVED THAT THE VARIOUS ASYMMETRIES, SUCH AS GEOGRAPHY, ARE OFTEN NOT FULLY COMPARABLE.

CLEARLY A PRECONDITION FOR AGREEMENT MUST BE THAT EUROPEAN SECURITY IS NOT THEREBY LESSENED, BUT INSTEAD IDEALLY INCREASED. SONNENFELDT STATED THAT HE DID NOT ACCEPT THE PREMISE THAT A DISARMAMENT AGREEMENT WOULD LEAD TO INSECURITY.

-- THERE HAS BEEN A SHIFT WITHIN THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IN THE BALANCE OF AUTHORITY ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, BUT SIGNS OF AN ADJUSTMENT SEEM TO BE ALREADY PRESENT. PERHAPS (IN RESPONSE TO A

SPECIFIC QUESTION ON THE IMPACT OF THE ELECTION
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 BONN 02952 02 OF 03 210338Z

ON THIS PROCESS) THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WILL
SPEED UP THIS ADJUSTMENT PROCESS, EVEN IF NOT
ALL THE UNCERTAINTIES WILL BE CLEARED AWAY...
SINCE A TOTAL PROCESS IS INVOLVED.

-- THERE IS NO QUESTION BUT THAT THE US/SOVIET
RELATIONSHIP IS UNIQUE. BOTH NATIONS ARE THE
SINGLE STRONGEST ADVERSARIES AND COMPETITORS OF
ONE ANOTHER. THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, ON THE
OTHER HAND, IS A RELATIONSHIP WHICH QUALITATIVELY
IS QUITE DIFFERENT. EUROPEANS SHOULD NOT VIEW
THE TWO RELATIONSHIPS AS COMPETITIVE.
THERE WILL OF COURSE ALWAYS BE QUESTIONS CON-
CERNING US WILLINGNESS TO UTILIZE NUCLEAR
WEAPONS IN DEFENSE OF EUROPE. PROBABLY SUCH

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 BONN 02952 03 OF 03 210342Z

66
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-05 /064 W

----- 059290

R 201756Z FEB 76
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6634
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMCONSUL BREMEN
AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
AMCONSUL HAMBURG
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMCONSUL STUTTGART
USMISSION USBERLIN
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 02952

QUESTIONS CAN NEVER BE DISPOSED OF DEFINITELY.
HOWEVER, MORBID OBSESSION IN EUROPE WITH
AMERICAN RELIABILITY SHOULD GIVE WAY TO THE
REALIZATION THAT WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS WHAT THE
US AND EUROPE ACCOMPLISH TOGETHER TO GIVE
CREDENCE TO THE NUCLEAR GUARANTEES.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 BONN 02952 03 OF 03 210342Z

-- SONNENFELDT NOTED THERE IS A CRITICAL MASS WHICH
IS NECESSARY FOR NATO DEFENSE. UNDER THIS
LEVEL RESOURCES OF THE ALLIANCE ARE WASTED.

-- HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SOVIET POWER HAS GROWN
RECENTLY, BUT IN AN UNEVEN MANNER WHICH
OPENS OPPORTUNITIES TO GENERATE RESTRAINT.
THERE ARE, FOR EXAMPLE, INSTABILITIES IN SOVIET
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRAMS, AS WELL AS IN THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. THE SOVIET
UNION IS NO LONGER AS FREE AS BEFORE OF EXTERNAL
INFLUENCE. IT SHOULD NOT BE NECESSARY FOR THE
WEST TO RELY SOLELY ON COUNTERPOSING EXTERNAL
POWER TO THE SOVIET THREAT. HERE PRESENT US
POLICY VARIES FROM ITS EARLIER CONTAINMENT
DOCTRINE. PRECISELY BECAUSE THE SOVIET UNION IS
BECOMING A GLOBAL POWER, CHANCES HAVE BEEN
OPENED TO INFLUENCE SOVIET POWER IN OTHER WAYS.
THIS IS HOW THE US DEFINES DETENTE. DETENTE
IS NOT APPEASEMENT OR SURRENDER. THAT IS THE
LAST THING IT IS. INSTEAD, THE WEST MUST TRY TO
INCREASE THE RISKS FOR THE SOVIET UNION WERE IT
TO THREATEN THE ALLIANCE. IT DOES NO GOOD TO
WRING ONE'S HANDS; INSTEAD THE WEST MUST STRIVE
TO INFLUENCE RUSSIA BY ESTABLISHING RESTRAINTS,

RISKS, AND RESPONSIBILITIES.

-- THE US AND EUROPE MUST AT THE SAME TIME BE
CAREFUL IN COMMERCIAL DEALINGS WITH THE SOVIET
UNION. IDEALLY SUCH DEALINGS SHOULD MAXIMIZE
SOVIET CONTACTS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD SO AS TO
FURTHER RESTRAIN MOSCOW.

HILLENBRAND

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COLLECTIVE SECURITY, ALLIANCE, SPEECHES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 FEB 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: morefirh
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976BONN02952
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760065-0054
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760231/aaaabazy.tel
Line Count: 339
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: morefirh
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 27 OCT 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <27 OCT 2003 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <02 JUL 2004 by morefirh>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: KOHL-SONNENFELDT PUBLIC DISCUSSION AT ADENAUER FOUNDATION BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION
TAGS: PFOR, GE, (KOHL), (SONNENFELDT)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006